1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

●[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

593 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
596
586

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

makka parijé alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*. Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin' (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 596 585 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

593 58[illegible] 586 768 Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu arivu*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWS Coorg AWS

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are:

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansuperi to assist the flow of village

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

Whenever information is lodged of a person having
died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the [671]
spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall [177]
examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks [625]
of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with [682]
what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been
given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence
of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to
writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri,
afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the per-
sons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend
them.

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be [635]
particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds
who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries
to commit mischief.

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not [635]
extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police [692]
of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and
they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals [625]
may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue
officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly
furnished with the aid demanded.

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may
die a natural death without having relations or friends present,
the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or
burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one
to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property [768] ●
and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the pro-
perty shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral
ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury
until claimed.

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of [766]
leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such
person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not

so

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown
177 into a river.
766]

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die,
671 leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár
177 or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the de-
429 ceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain
768 their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the headman of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules
[671] sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his